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PREFACE

IN the summer of 1943 I had my first experience with Northern Athapaskan Indians at Fort Nelson, British Columbia.[1] At that time it had already been pointed out to me by Professor Cornelius Osgood that certain marked personality features distinguished Athapaskan people which might make it difficult to approach them in interpersonal relations. This observation was corroborated by my own field work. After my return in the fall of 1943, my discussions and reading developed a strong interest in the problem of ethos. At that time the concept denoted little more to me than the notion of the "spirit" of a people. Analysis of the principal works dealing with this and related approaches revealed no clearly formulated methodology for studying the phenomenon, and I became interested in filling this gap. It also seemed that the Northern Athapaskan area would be a suitable place for the study of ethos since in that region communities were small enough to permit extensive participation without too far sacrificing the value of intensive research. Furthermore, the people were manifestly characterized by a distinctive "spirit." It was also hoped that the development of a clearly defined methodology would be useful for studies of national character, which, in connection with the war, were then assuming considerable prominence.

During the summer of 1944 some time was spared from an historical reconstruction of aboriginal Kaska culture to make observations of the emotional behavior of a few informants and to record some of their emotional attitudes. Little was done with this material, although several important emotional trends in the society's behavior were apparent. The experience convinced me that I still lacked the primary requisite for making any satisfactory headway in the study of ethos. I needed a more precise method which would guide the interpretation of data. During the winter of 1944–1945 I was able to work out a method and, through the cooperation of Professor Osgood and the Department of Anthropology at Yale University, test its utility in a study of some aspects of Chinese ethos as reflected in two individuals. The experience convinced me that, with minor changes, the method would serve as an instrument for the exploration of the emotional aspects of motivation and behavior in the field. With this accumulated knowledge, I returned to Lower Post, British Columbia, Canada, on June 9, 1945 to study both the contemporary culture and the ethos of Kaska society. Somewhat over two months were spent in Lower Post, observing and participating in native activities and collecting personality materials. In the middle of August my family and I left the trading post with members of the Upper Liard River tribe, who were returning to their winter settlements. Following two weeks of camping with these people at a point in Yukon Territory where the Alaska Highway crosses the Liard River, twenty-three miles northwest of Lower Post, we began a leisurely trip upriver, stopping briefly at each family's winter settlement. The next three months were spent in one of the largest family settlements. In December, following the freezeup of the river and the arrival of suitable conditions for overland travel, we walked back to Lower Post, again visiting winter settlements, renewing acquaintances, and catching up with local news. Christmas was spent

[1] Honigmann, *Ethnography and Acculturation of the Fort Nelson Slave* (1946).

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in Lower Post, and on December 26th we boarded the bus for the railhead at Dawson Creek. Analysis of the material was begun toward the end of my stay in the field and completed in New Haven. A description of Kaska culture and ethos, containing a large part of the material in the present monograph, was submitted in 1946 to the Graduate School of Yale University in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. The preparation of this final report was generously aided by a University Fellowship.

Acknowledgment is made to the Department of Anthropology and to the Peabody Museum of Yale University for funds enabling me to carry out two seasons of field work among the Kaska Indians. To the faculty of the Department of Anthropology I am indebted for unceasing stimulation, criticism, and encouragement. I must particularly mention the intellectual inspiration received from Professor Cornelius Osgood during my graduate years at Yale, and the help provided by Professor Clellan S. Ford in formulating a description of the analytical method which I followed in this study of Kaska culture and ethos. Professors George P. Murdock, Wendell C. Bennett, and Irving Rouse also read portions of the manuscript and made important suggestions. To my colleagues, the students in the department, I wish to express appreciation for their patience and interest in listening to the many expositions of the successive stages of this research project. I am also deeply obliged to my wife who, despite natural misgivings, ventured to try the northern winter and, by her presence and cooperation, greatly facilitated my work. Her interest, aid, and penetrating criticism were particularly valuable during the analysis and description of the data. David and Karen also contributed, their company in the field serving to throw light on many aspects of native child and adult behavior. A number of people, by their friendship and hospitality, promoted our comfort in the North. Among these I must refer to the resident Catholic missionaries, members of the Oblates of the Immaculate Conception, Father Pierre A. Poullet, who generously placed his home at our disposal when we returned to Watson Lake Airport in December, and Father Bernard Arsenault. I can also not forget to mention Hans Anderson, Clarence Millspaugh, and Bill Strong, traders; and the trappers, Leo Cormier, Fred Herbert, Knute Hillgren, Nick Prosnick, Llewellyn Phillips, Ben Malanson, and others, who, by their many kindnesses, facilitated and enlivened our stay in Lower Post.

Finally there are my friends among the Upper Liard Indians. Without their generosity in providing us with shelter, guidance, meat, fish, and, when our food stores ran low, lending us "grub," I would not have been able to finish this work adequately. Since I was taken completely into the confidence of some of these people, and because the data contain highly personal and intimate material, it is necessary to preserve the anonymity of the members of this group. Therefore fictitious names have been employed for all my informants.

New Haven, 1946. JOHN J. HONIGMANN

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INTRODUCTION

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THE introductory material consists of four parts. First the concept of ethos is treated from the historical as well as definitive points of view. Attention is given to the methodological aspects of those studies in the field of "culture and personality" which immediately influenced the writer's thinking particularly since his initial field work.[1] Following a definition of ethos, a theory is briefly presented on the manner in which the ethological characteristics of a society become established in the early socialization of children. A statement of methodology follows which points out the conditions which must be known in order to repeat the field work and analysis upon which the descriptions of Kaska culture and ethos are based or to duplicate the work in another society. In other words, the "conditions of the experiment" are presented with some of the thoroughness that has recently been solicited from anthropologists.[2] The introduction concludes with an alphabetical "directory" of the principal informants arranged with cross-references to parents and other relatives whenever possible and other useful information.

PREVIOUS STUDIES OF ETHOS

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Over centuries men have noted differences in the emotional aspects of behavior manifested in different societies. From the time of the Greeks travelers have reported their impressionistic pictures of the emotional character of the behavior which they have encountered in groups they visited.[3] It is to be expected that when the task of studying preliterate societies became one of the principal tasks of the anthropologist he should have been aware of the earlier attempts to characterize emotionally the behavior of exotic peoples. The reports of early field workers are frequently marked by paragraphs referring to the "temperament" or the "moral and intellectual characteristics" of the societies which were under observation. Other ethnographers sought to rectify travelers' prejudiced views of preliterate societies as, on the one hand, idealized havens of human welfare and, on the other, barbarous survivals of an original state of savagery. Beyond these steps, however, anthropologists were slow to proceed in the qualitative characterization of the emotional aspects of the phenomena which they were studying.

An explanation can be ventured for the apparent unwillingness of anthropologists to follow travelers in the emotional characterization of social life. The field worker, no matter how keenly he might appreciate the unique qualities of the behavior which he encountered, was impressed by scientific values that demanded great reliability and rigor in his reporting. As a scientist the anthropologist realized that generalized and impressionistic characterization had to be replaced by more systematic and verifiable methods of observation and interpretation.

[1] Honigmann, *Ethnography and Acculturation of the Fort Nelson Slave* (1946).

[2] Kluckhohn, *The Personal Document in Anthropological Science* (1945), 151.

[3] The unscientific study of national character, as we have recently been reminded, is very old indeed and has perennially been injected with fresh vigor by partisan interest. See Hertz, *Nationality in History and Politics* (1944); Huxley and Haddon, *We Europeans* (1935), 61–67.

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●121 *The inductive approach.* The scientific tradition of the early part of the twentieth century was strongly inductive in its methods.[6] It is against this inductive emphasis in early social science that we find one of the earliest definitions of the characteristic emotional quality of the behavior of a given social group. For Sumner the ethos was "the totality of characteristic traits by which a group *is* individualized and differentiated from others."[7] He also pointed out that the folklore, riddles, poetry, drama, and literary fiction of a society were useful to discover an ethos because they revealed facts about the mores as well as the longings of a people.[8] He indicated the learned nature of ethos by warning that "Modern scholars have made the mistake of attributing to race much which belongs to the ethos, with a resulting controversy as to the relative importance of nature and nurture."[9] In briefly applying his concept to cultural materials, Sumner characterized the ethos of the Chinese as "industrial and materialistic" in contrast to that of the Japanese, which he saw as "militant."

Sumner's definition of ethos as the totality of a group's characteristic traits continues to have an influence with sociologists and anthropologists. It is, for example, found in the conception of ethos as "*Die Gesamtheit der menschlichen Einstellungen, Willens- und Bildungsrichtungen.*"[10] It influenced Young's view of ethos as "societal character" derived from "Those patterns of culture of a particular society which most distinguishes it from other societies,"[11] and is found in Gorer's definition: "The sum of the varied behaviors, ideas, and aims of a social group."[12]

The configuration approach. Other students of social life, in their search for an approach to the study of the emotional aspects distinguishing the behavior of different societies, proceeded from a relatively more deductive point of view, which appeared as the century progressed. Notably Sapir and Benedict followed the leads of German historical philosophers like Dilthey and Spengler, who had already approached conceptualizations of similar phenomena in their *Weltanschauung* and *Zeitgeist* studies.[13] As early as 1918 Spengler had sought to synthesize the spirits of two periods of western civilization in single terms which would refer to the souls from which the behavior characterizing those societies originated.[14]

In 1924 Sapir wrote: "We may perhaps come nearest the mark by saying that the culture

[6] In regard to the application of psychological techniques to the study of societies, inductive values were related to the lack of a satisfactory deductive theory for guiding observation and interpretation. Such theories could, in turn, develop only after sufficient data had been accumulated. The beginnings in France of a deductive point of view in psychological studies of society may be discerned in the questionnaire devised by Van Loon and Thurnwald. (See Van Loon and Thurnwald, *Un questionnaire psycho-physio-morphologique pour l'étude de la psychologie des races* [1930].) That serious interest in such studies never developed in France is perhaps due to the traditional French emphasis on induction.

[7] Sumner, *Folkways* (1906), 70.

[8] Sumner, *Folkways* (1906), 561.

[9] Sumner, *Folkways* (1906), 74.

[10] *Die Wandlung des Ethos* (1925), 4.

[11] Young, *An Introductory Sociology* (1934), 26.

[12] Gorer, *Society as Viewed by the Anthropologist* (1936), 25.

[13] Spengler, *Decline of the West* (1926), 74.

[14] It is interesting to note that the inductive tradition dominating social science in the early part of the twentieth century led Sumner to reject attempts to describe the "soul of the people" as duplicating for groups "processes which are now abandoned for individuals." Sumner, *Folkways* (1906), 74.

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conception which we are now trying to grasp aims to embrace in a single term those general attitudes, views of life, and specific manifestations of civilization that give a particular people its distinctive place in the world. Emphasis is put not so much on what is done and believed by a people as on how what is done and believed acts on the whole life of that people, what significance it has for them. The very same element of civilization may be a vital strand in the culture of one people, a well nigh negligible factor in the culture of another."[13] Sapir called this conception, "spirit" or "genius."

Ruth Benedict credits Dilthey and Spengler with recognizing "the importance of integration and configuration" in cultures or civilizations.[14] Her statement that "Cultures . . . are more than the sum of their traits" marks the growth of an integrative approach to ethos. She develops the view that "A culture, like an individual, is a more or less consistent pattern of thought and action. Within each culture there come into being characteristic purposes not necessarily shared by other types of society." Cultures are unique "configurations" of forces that condition "the thoughts and emotions of the individuals who participate in those cultures."[15] Boas' words: "Dr. Benedict calls the genius of culture its configuration,"[16] clearly relates her approach to the work of other anthropologists and sociologists.

Kluckhohn has developed Benedict's point of view in speaking of a plurality of "cultural configurations" or "implicit or suppressed premises that tend to be characteristic of a certain group." In some cases, he believes, these premises may be combined in "a single dominant master configuration . . . 'the integrating principle of the culture' or . . . 'the ethos of the society.' "[17] This more particularized notion is shared by M. E. Opler in speaking of a "theme" of a culture as "a postulate or position declared or implied, and usually controlling behavior or stimulating activity which is tacitly approved or openly promoted in a society."[18]

A significant feature of Kluckhohn's and Opler's definitions is their departure from conceiving of the emotional aspects of behavior as lying in a single overall term or "monistic urge."[19] In focusing on specific configurations, "premises," or "postulates," these writers suggest an important contribution to a methodology aiming toward greater precision in the interpretation of ethos. It will be noted, however, that Sapir and Benedict have directed attention from behavior to the underlying ideas on which behavior may be assumed to rest or from which it emanates. Methodologically this turning to a psychological explanation for the characteristic emotional aspects of the behavior of a social group is quite significant.

The psychological approach. One shortcoming in the work produced by those anthropologists whom we have classified with the *Weltanschauung* philosophers is the lack of specific methods which can be used to duplicate the operations by which the final statement of ethos, genius, or configuration was obtained. One solution to the need for principles that would better guide deduction and analysis was suggested by the developing science of

[13] Sapir, *Culture, Genuine and Spurious* (1921), 168.
[14] Benedict, *Patterns of Culture* (1934), 47.
[15] Benedict, *Patterns of Culture* (1934), 42–52.
[16] In Benedict, *Patterns of Culture* (1934), xvii.
[17] Kluckhohn, *Navaho Culture and Administrative Problems* (1943), 218.
[18] Opler, M. E. *Themes as Dynamic Forces in Culture* (1945), 198.
[19] Kroeber has referred to Spengler's "monistic urge to conceive every major culture as a harmonious whole, expressing one set of attitudes at every point and without remainder." Kroeber, *Configurations of Culture Growth* (1944), 830.

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● 121 personality psychology. One of the keynotes of this psychology was an interest in attitudes and values as key forces in determining social behavior. Margaret Mead applied the principles of this branch of science to the study of social behavior. Her reference to the values which "a culture . . . embodies . . . in its structure, in its politics and religious systems, in its art and literature" and by which "each new generation is shaped firmly and definitely to [these] dominant trends,"[8] may be considered an attempt to understand the emotional aspects of behavior by inferring the society's dominant attitudes or goals.

In 1939 Bateson also approached the problem of ethos with the tools of personality psychology. "Ethos," he says, "is the system of emotional attitudes which govern what value a community shall set upon the various satisfactions or dissatisfactions which the contexts of life may offer."[9] In another place he speaks of the ethos as expressed in a "tone of appropriate behavior" or in "a definite set of sentiments towards the rest of the world, a definite attitude toward reality."[10] It is apparent that for Bateson the ethos is primarily a covert phenomenon which can be derived by means of an analysis of verbalized attitudes and other behavior.

Bateson's conception of ethos contains additional suggestions for deriving ethos through systematic observation plus controlled inference. It is not yet completely satisfactory, as Bateson himself points out, because it lacks a scientific vocabulary by which the ethos can be explicitly defined. "The best we can do," he says, "is to sketch an ethos or a personality in a diffuse journalistic or artistic style and then sum up that sketch in a few words whose significance is fixed by that sketch."[11] The study of ethos, therefore, was still somewhat in the stage of travelers' impressions.

According to Bateson and Mead, in their earlier work with ethos "no precise scientific vocabulary was available, the ordinary English words were used, with all their weight of culturally limited connotations, in an attempt to describe the way in which the emotional life of these various South Sea peoples was organized in culturally standardized forms. This method . . . transgressed the canons of precise and operational scientific exposition proper to science; it was far too dependent upon idiosyncratic factors of style and literary skill; it was difficult to duplicate and it was difficult to evaluate."[12]

To overcome these shortcomings the authors attempted the photographic method "of stating the intangible relationships among different types of culturally standardized behavior by placing side by side mutually relevant behaviors" even though these were spatially and contextually separated. The pictures were selected for "the same emotional thread" running through them.[13] They represented a variety of social situations in which "the Balinese character is revealed."

Although this method of photographic analysis presents obvious advantages, it is not sufficient without some literary description. Bateson and Mead's work is methodologically significant mainly as an attempt to demonstrate by relatively objective reporting the

[8] Mead, *Sex and Temperament* (1935), vi.
[9] Bateson, *Naven* (1936), 220.
[10] Bateson, *Naven* (1936), 119.
[11] Bateson, *Naven* (1936), 168.
[12] Bateson and Mead, *Balinese Character* (1942), vi.
[13] Bateson and Mead, *Balinese Character* (1942), viii.

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emotional aspects of behavior (i.e., behavior from which emotion can be inferred). Unlike Bateson's earlier point of view, that ethos "is the system of emotional attitudes," and therefore covert, Balinese Character suggests that ethos is the expression of a socially conditioned character structure in social behavior.

The influence of psychoanalysis. During the last two decades psychoanalysis has exerted a constantly increasing influence in psychiatric, psychological, and anthropological theory. One of the products of this cross-fertilization has been the revival of studies in character structure applied to both contemporary nations and to exotic groups. The influence of psychoanalysis is most marked in the studies of basic personality undertaken by Kardiner, Linton, and DuBois. Both the character structure and the basic personality approaches are interested in relatively similar phenomena and both are related to the study of ethos. This has been demonstrated with reference to character studies in the work of Bateson and Mead but the studies of Bröhaus and Fromm should also be mentioned.[28] Kardiner's definition of "basic personality type" as "that personality configuration which is shared by the bulk of the society's members as a result of the early experiences which they have in common" and which "may be reflected in many different forms of behavior and may enter into many different total personality configurations"[29] bears an operational resemblance to Bateson's definition of ethos as "the system of emotional attitudes which govern what value a community shall set upon the various satisfactions and dissatisfactions which life may offer."

Linton has pointed to the value of the basic personality concept for anthropologists in stating that the term "suggests a type of integration, within a culture, based upon the common experiences of a society's members and the personality characteristics which these experiences might be expected to engender . . . . By employing the concept of a societal personality structure it becomes possible to place the focal point of culture integration in the denominator of the personalities of the individuals who participate in a culture."[30] Linton also points out that not every culture may reveal an "*idée fixe*" on which Benedict's configurational analysis depends. "The outstanding contribution which the *basic personality structure* approach makes to integrational studies is that it provides a logical plan for cultures which are not" so dominated.[31]

Definition. The present paper has been especially influenced by the method developed by Kardiner and Linton as well as the work of Bateson and Mead. It tries to meet the lack of an adequate operational approach to ethos by offering an explicit statement of methodology and utilizing some of the concepts of psychoanalytic psychiatry and those branches of psychology which have been influenced by psychoanalysis.[32]

Our survey has indicated that definitions of ethos have varied according to the interests

[28] Bröhaus, *Observations on Home Education* (1939); Bröhaus, *Observations on the Tiwi, Childhood and World Image* (1943); Fromm, *Escape from Freedom* (1941).

[29] Kardiner, *The Psychological Frontiers of Society* (1945), vii.

[30] In Kardiner, *The Individual and His Society* (1939), viii-ix.

[31] In Kardiner, *The Individual and His Society* (1939), ix.

[32] LaBarre's extensive study came within the earlier portion of the present paper was completed but also utilized psychiatric concepts in describing Japanese character structure. His definitions of ethos as "temperament" or "psychological continuity" are close to Bateson's and Mead's conception of this phenomenon. LaBarre, *Some Observations on Character Structure in the Orient, The Japanese* (1945), 322. See also Leighton's treatment of the concept of temperament. Leighton, *The Governing of Men* (1945), 384.

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● 121 of the workers in this field. In some cases ethos has been implicitly or explicitly regarded as primarily a covert phenomenon underlying the emotional aspects of social behavior, while in other cases the ethos was taken to mean principally the emotional quality of behavior itself.[11] For present purposes it will be assumed that the understanding of an ethos requires cognizance of both the emotional aspects of behavior and of the motivational sources from which those aspects arise. Ethos will be defined as the socially patterned dominant motivations of personality and their expression in motivated behavior and the material results of, or material aids to, such behavior. The dominant motivations constitute a dynamically interrelated system of meanings, goals, or values by which the individual views himself and the external world.[12] This configuration corresponds to Sapir's "world of meanings."[13]

PATTERNING OF DOMINANT MOTIVATIONS

We have referred to the dominant motivations as socially patterned, by which we mean that they are learned or inculcated through the behavior of other members of the society of which the individual is a member. It is now proposed to examine briefly the manner in which this learning is accomplished.

Patterning is secured through socialization. Every individual must be raised in a society and most of his attitudes, ideas, and behaviors are influenced by the expectations of that group. In the socialization process each individual interprets and reacts to those expectations in a characteristic fashion, but respond to them he must. As Mead has pointed out, this process leaves no room for the development of complete social deviants. She has questioned the implication that the deviant behaves "in a personal or individual manner as if he were in some way distinct from the culture" and has emphasized that all individuals are, to some extent, conditioned by the social group in which they were born.[14]

Anthropological interest in socialization is dual. First there is an interest in the principles governing the acquisition of those forms of behavior which the individual superimposes on inherent capacities like hunger and aggression and which guide the manner in which those potentialities will be expressed.[15] The second is an interest in the principles governing the acquisition of the dominant motivations.[16] The approach rests on the assumption that in the early years of life it is not so much what is learned as how learning takes place that is important in patterning the world and self-views. Furthermore it is assumed that formal

[11] For brief definitions of these various notions of ethos and related concepts see Appendix B.

[12] The concepts of world view and self-view offered here partly overlap with the syndromes which Maslow has referred to as the security and self-esteem systems and also reflect the thinking of Adler. See Maslow, *A Theory of Human Motivation* (1943); Maslow, *Dynamics of Personality Organization* (1943); Maslow and Mittelmann, *Principles of Abnormal Psychology* (1941), 133–173; and Adler, *Understanding Human Nature* (1927).

[13] Sapir, *Cultural Anthropology and Psychiatry* (1932), 236.

[14] Mead, *Cultural Approach to Personality* (1942), 91–96. See also Mead, *Educative Effects of Social Environments* (1940), 51–53.

[15] See for example Miller and Dollard, *Social Learning and Imitation* (1941); Whiting, *Becoming a Kwoma* (1941); Ford, *Society, Culture and the Human Organism* (1939); Ford, *A Comparative Study of Human Reproduction* (1941).

[16] This approach to socialization is represented in such works as Kardiner, *The Individual and His Society* (1939); Kardiner, *The Psychological Frontiers of Society* (1945), and Mead, *And Keep Your Powder Dry* (1942).

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learning techniques, whether based on reward and punishment or imitation, have an effect beyond the acquisition of socially approved behavior. This effect can be summed up as the influence of social pressures imposed by parents and parent surrogates on the malleable personality of the young child. For example, as these pressures enhance the view of the self and lead to feelings of friendliness in a congenial environment, or as they undermine the feelings of adequacy and lead to expectations of failure in, or hostility from, the world, these social influences pattern the basic motivational system.

Kardiner suggests that "there is a limit to the sort of culture content which can be transmitted by direct learning process."[27] Murdock adds to this that "whereas behaviorists look primarily to the inherited mechanisms of learning for the interpretation of behavior, Freudians look to the conditions of learning, and in particular to the structure of the family relationships under which the earliest human learning occurs in all societies."[28]

A generally held thesis is that the socially prescribed methods for responding to the early capacities and needs of the child vary considerably in different societies. For example, the time at which these responses come in relation to the development of the child's abilities, the intensity with which the responses make their impact, the relative gratification and frustration which they engender, and the characteristic behaviors with which the child replies to these responses, all vary between different social groups. Observations of such differences may be correlated to differences in the basic personalities which influence adult behavior, leading to the conclusion that in each society the process of socialization may pattern a distinctive system of world and self-views.

The dynamics of patterning. In the broadest terms the dominant motivations may be understood as originating from the interaction of certain inherent predispositions of the organism with the expectations of the social group into which the human being is born. At the earliest level of socialization, in the first few weeks of life, the infant literally fails to distinguish between himself and the environment. These early days, however, see the beginning of the structuring of the world and self-views. Early gratifications which remove the inherent dislike of hunger and cold are apprehended as pleasurable, while non-gratification in these areas is unpleasant. Such pleasurable emotional experiences as hunger satiation, warmth, and comfort are the earliest forms of what later comes to be more clearly perceived as a feeling of adequacy, mastery, or security. Conversely non-gratification of such tensions becomes the forerunner of feelings of failure, anxiety, and insecurity. There can be little question but that these and other early experiences play a fundamental role in determining the dominant ideas with which the individual will continue to respond to the world and to himself.[29]

As the organism grows and differentiation of tensions and satisfactions begins to develop, the child comes to distinguish specific emotional meanings for these states as well as for the persons who become associated with them. Where originally the tensions and satis-

[27] Kardiner, *The Concept of Basic Personality Structure as an Operational Tool in the Social Sciences* (1945) 109.

[28] Murdock, *The Common Denominator of Cultures* (1945), 141.

[29] See Ribble, *The Rights of Infants* (1943); Maslow and Mittelmann, *Principles of Abnormal Psychology* (1941), pp. 168-169.

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TABLE 1. SOME EARLY EXPERIENCES IMPORTANT IN PATTERNING EMOTIONAL ASPECTS OF PERSONALITY*

Experience	*Emotional Significance*
Feeding (including sucking, nursing, regularity of feeding, nutritional aspects of food)	Earliest sense of security and adequacy is derived from the satisfaction of the alimentary needs; persistent non-gratification interferes with the development of a sense of mastery, leading to pessimistic attitudes toward the world and the devaluation of the self. Unconscious equivalences with feeding may be set up which result in exaggerating the importance of oral and alimentary regions.
Weaning (abrupt, early, delayed, etc.)	Abrupt and early weaning may be traumatic; delayed weaning may become associated with emotional passivity. Unconscious equivalences with the mother as a frustrating object may appear in connection with abrupt or early weaning.
Sphincter training and attitudes toward sphincter processes	Severe sphincter training may influence the development of compulsive and rigid attitudes toward many life situations. Unconscious equivalences may become associated with buttocks, anus, or feces.
Attitudes toward autoerotic gratification	Early sexual restrictions have a large function in determining the sexual attitudes of later life; childhood masturbation also may aid in the development of feeling of mastery.
Attitudes toward aggression	Aggression in children is a result of frustration consequent to the child's imperfect ability to master situations rationally. Its encouragement may develop reliance on crude forms of control; its suppression may become associated with submissiveness and passivity (probably because such suppression is usually strongest in societies emphasizing the authority of parents toward children).
Induction of affectivity (including contact and handling, rejection, over-protection, quarreling between parents, parental dishonesty, and parental insecurity)	The induction of affectivity through affectional stimulation by adults is important in determining the child's later ability to love other objects as well as the self. An absence of early warm human relations may lead to emotional isolation, affect hunger, emotional rigidity, etc.
Relations with authority (including domination by parents and others, over-severe discipline, apportioning of praise and approximation)	The independence and spontaneity of the child is developed in a social setting demanding attitudes toward authority; a too authoritarian setting may lead to submissiveness, frustration, hostility, rebelliousness, or self-devaluation. Strong parental authority may assist in developing a tyrannical superego.
Character of early discipline (including chronic frustration, humiliation, cruelty, as well as the severity of the ideals demanded)	Disciplines which demean and humiliate the child or demand over-severe ideals lower the feeling of self-worth and influence the development of superego attitudes; inconsistent disciplines may cause anxiety and insecurity. Forms of discipline may arouse unconscious equivalences involving the role of the buttocks, the role of women as sadistic, etc.

* No attempt has been made to cite the literature from which this table has been compiled because it largely represents the synthesis of a great amount of reading. I am indebted to Professor A. H. Maslow for suggesting several points to include.

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TABLE 1—(Continued)

Character of the learning process	A learning process in which direction is wholly in command of parents may destroy ability for initiative and develop passivity and dependence; certain types of learning are probably correlated with the later attitudes toward authority.
Early responsibility	The inculcation of a sense of responsibility in childhood probably helps to maintain a responsible character in later life. Absence of demands for responsibility may lead to dependence and a lower evaluation of the self.
Relations with siblings (including favoritism and sibling rivalry)	Among the earliest interpersonal relations, relations with siblings pattern expectations and attitudes in later social relations.
Relations with parents	All of the early experiences involve relations with parents. Such relations pattern future interpersonal relations.

factions which brought the child into interaction with the social environment were few, the growing capacities of the child now open the way for many more gratifications and frustrations at the hands of its socializers. All of these experiences add their marks to the initial conceptions of the world and the self.

Extensive psychiatric observation in western society (and, in recent years, in a few non-European groups) has made clear the importance of the early years of childhood for the development of dominant motivational trends and leads us to be able to point to certain categories of childhood experience as of greatest importance in patterning a basic world of meanings.[4] The most important of these experiences are arranged in Table 1 with a brief statement of their assumed significance for the organization of basic personality. The absence of any large body of adequately validated universal data regarding the manner in which any one experience becomes correlated with specific aspects of motivation makes any *a priori* interpretation of its influence impossible. The present paper may itself be regarded as a further attempt to secure such validation. There is therefore no intent to imply types of experiences to which personality types in every society can be directly correlated. Rather we would emphatically maintain that the effect of any one of these experiences is always influenced by the *totality* of early life experiences to which the child is exposed. Obviously submission to authority would not have the same dynamics in a group which also patterns a deeply loving relationship of parents to children as submission would have in a society that tends to reject children. The items in Table 1, then, are merely a few universal childhood experiences which, when taken together, are, from what we know, probably among the most significant of those determining the patterning of personality.

Some evidence is available for assuming that the system of dominant motivations derived from the gratifications and frustrations of these early experiences does not readily

[4] See especially DuBois, *The People of Alor* (1944); Kardiner, *The Psychological Frontiers of Society* (1945); Bateson and Mead, *Balinese Character* (1942); Erikson, *Observations of Sioux Education* (1939); Ritchie, *African as Suckling and Child* (1945), and Hallowell, *Aggression in Saulteaux Society* (1940).

1: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

121 disappear or change, but rather persists.[42] That is, the personality configuration created in this fashion tends to maintain itself and to resist casual efforts of reeducation.

All early experiences are closely related to the relationship of the child to his parents, parental surrogates, or parental extensions.[43] We will refer to the child's earliest meaningful interpersonal relationship with parents or parental surrogates as the *oedipal situation*. Often we find societies in which the father is singled out as the disciplinarian. Toward him the child, especially the boy, must be compliant and reserved. As a result of these socially patterned expectations, considerable fear is manifested toward that parent, and this attitude is often accompanied by a disproportionate affect invested in the mother. This is the classical oedipal pattern of western society.[44] From such a complex are derived conscious and unconscious expectations that will later be extended to many other social relationships and will also be expressed in the relationship of the individual to the supernatural. These expectations tend to persist through life. Where security in childhood lies in placating a strong and harsh parent in order to keep in his good graces, security in later life may tend to be sought in submission and passivity in human relations. Aggression or assertiveness becomes revolt in this pattern. The world view in such instances may, for example, regard men in dominant positions as threatening and potentially dangerous, while the self-view will motivate reserve, hesitancy, and timidity.

METHOD

122 The method followed in investigating Kaska culture and ethos may be considered under three aspects: first, the author's preparation for field work; second, the techniques adopted for the collection of data, and, finally, the procedure followed in the analysis of the data.

Preparation. At the time when work was undertaken in 1945 the author had already spent three months in the field working with Kaska Indians. He was, therefore, familiar with the people whom he now proposed to study more intimately. A didactic psychoanalysis lasting several months had succeeded in clarifying much of psychoanalytic theory and practice. Training as well as wide reading in the fields of psychology and psychiatry gave further background for handling personal data. Several months spent as a research assistant, obtaining and analyzing life histories of alcoholics in urban American society, furnished important practical experience in interviewing and making judgments of adjustment in a semi-psychiatric situation.

123 *Field techniques.* The ethnographer presented himself as a friend of the Indians. He was always sympathetic to any complaints addressed to him, whether these were directed

[42] Maslow, *Dynamics of Personality Organization* (1943), 733–734; Nadel, *Review of Nuwer* (1938); Nadel, *The Typological Approach to Culture* (1936–1937), 278–279.

[43] The term parent extensions is used to designate relatives, such as the mother's brother, the mother's sister, grandparents, and others who, in some societies, may be in frequent interaction with the child and so effect the diffusion of some of the affect which, in western culture, is typically bound up in the parent-child relationship. See Mead, *The Family and the Future* (1950); Malinowski, *Sex and Repression in Savage Society* (1927).

[44] It also appears to be the pattern in Chinese society. See Dai, *Divided Loyalty in War* (1944); Yang, *A Chinese Village* (1945), 128–130.

6: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945)1954 ND12 Nahane ND12

PREFACE

114 MY first direct contact with Athapaskan Indians came in the summer of 1943 with the Slave Indians at Fort Nelson, B. C.[1] The original and unattained objective of that field trip had been the Kaska Indians, whom I then believed to be trading into a post located at the confluence of McDame Creek and Dease River, British Columbia, some 300 miles northwest of Fort Nelson. In June 1944 I succeeded in winning another opportunity to work with the Northern Athapaskans, again setting out for McDame Creek and the Kaska Indians. In Edmonton, district officials of the Hudson's Bay Company informed me that not many Indians were left at McDame Creek. Following the coming of the Alaska Highway, they explained, the McDame trade had been deflected to Lower Post, where the Dease and Liard rivers meet. Here the Dease River Kaska now came to spend the summer with other Kaska Indians who lived on the northern drainage of the Liard. The advice proved encouraging, since it meant that an 80-mile boat trip from Lower Post to McDame Creek could be avoided.

Contrary to the previous year, in 1944 I went North accompanied by my wife and two children: David, age three, and Karen, eight months. On June 15 we started from Dawson Creek, the end of rail, comfortably seated in a very up-to-date Greyhound Bus. The Northwest Division of the United States Army provided this facility for "essential" transportation over the Alaskan Highway. Many changes from the previous summer could be noted during the first lap of the journey. Not only had the Highway been vastly improved, but many of the army and construction camps were closed and some had already been demolished. The "town" of Mile Eight, eight miles above the spur road that leads eastward to Fort Nelson airport, now revealed only a few structures. (When we returned in September the locale appeared to be even more abandoned.) Twenty-three hours sufficed to cover the 620 miles to Lower Post. Early on a glorious summer morning the huge vehicle turned off the Highway and wheeled onto the dirt track leading to the front of the settlement, which then faced the sparkling Liard River.[2]

We spent 13 happy weeks in Lower Post, coming to know a few Kaska Indians so well that we were able to return in 1945 confident of being able to live with them in their winter settlements.[3]

121 The intention behind my initial visit to the Kaska in 1944 was to acquire gradually an intimate knowledge of their contemporary culture and personality by approaching them with questions about their aboriginal way of life. These data about pre-contact times form the subject matter of the present monograph. In the following year five additional months residence with the people, including part of a winter, helped elucidate many more aboriginal problems. On that field trip, however, contemporary Kaska life constituted the focus of study. The latter material has already been published in *Kaska*

[1] Honigmann, *Ethnography and Acculturation of the Fort Nelson Slave* (1946).

[177] [2] Recently published material suggests that the town has turned its face toward the Highway, a process which commenced in 1944 when a new Hudson's Bay Company store opened on the Highway and the old store, facing the river, was abandoned. Cf. Harrington, *Alaska Highway* (1951).

[3] Honigmann, *Culture and Ethos of Kaska Society* (1949), 3-4.

6: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945)1954 ND12 Nahane ND12

Culture and Ethos (1949). In 1948, while spending a relatively lonely winter with the Cree Indians of Attawapiskat, Ontario, I managed to salvage sufficient time to write up the first draft of the present manuscript from field notes which I had designedly taken North the previous summer. The following pages are published substantially as they came from the typewriter in 1951.

Conditions for work among the Kaska Indians remained almost unbelievably excellent when compared with the problems which anthropologists have encountered in Northern Apathaskan field work. Relatively little of the reticence, diffidence, and disinterest, that made previous work with the Fort Nelson Slave so difficult, manifested themselves at Lower Post. Willing male informants were easy to secure. However, in recent years I have become very conscious of the sampling deficiencies inherent in the traditional method of ethnography. This method has led to disproportionate amount of information being secured from informants belonging to the upper Liard River region. That group provided the most cooperative informants as well as those possessing considerable facility in English. In 1945 I spent part of the winter with these same willing upper Liard River folk.

For their generous hospitality, gratitude goes to Mr. and Mrs. J. Stewart, of the Hudson's Bay Company. At their door early that June morning appeared my family inquiring about a place in which to get breakfast. We were not turned away. I recall, too, the friendliness of Mr. and Mrs. Rupert Brooks, the always ready helpfulness of Mr. Clarence Millspaugh, and the open heartedness of Mr. Hans Anderson, one of the most unforgettable characters whom I have met in the North. Transportation was arranged through the cooperation of Major F. C. Barger, Lieutenants C. E. Barger and E. Waters, and Sergeant V. Kelly, all of the United States Army. Major D. M. MacKay, then Indian Commissioner for British Columbia, facilitated certain aspects of field work and his office supplied useful census data. My intellectual debt to Professor Cornelius Osgood is a pervasive one. To him I owe my original orientation to the peoples and cultures of northern North America. My sincere thanks for financial assistance to our field work go to the Department of Anthropology, Yale University, the Yale Peabody Museum, and to Mr. and Mrs. William A. Castleton. Professor Lucy Chamberlain, Chairman of the Department of Sociology-Anthropology, Washington Square College, New York University, helped me arrange a teaching schedule that left a maximum time for writing. For assistance in completing final typing of parts of the manuscript I acknowledge the help received from the Institute for Research in Social Science of the University of North Carolina.

Chapel Hill, 1954. JOHN J. HONIGMANN

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INTRODUCTION

THE present monograph is intended primarily to describe the aboriginal and time-of-contact lifeways of the Kaska Indians of northern British Columbia and southern Yukon Territory, Canada (Fig. 1). The writer's principal object has been to add to present knowledge concerning the Northern Athapaskan Indians. As far as the organization of the material is concerned, the cultural data follow this introduction, which includes, in addition to these preliminary remarks, a description of the environment (based mainly on contemporary observation), tribal distribution and nomenclature, population data, a sketch of psychological types, and an index of principal informants.[1] The description of aboriginal Kaska culture is divided into five main sections covering, respectively, data pertaining to the food quest, camp life and some associated activities, social organization, ideological system, and the life cycle. These main divisions are in turn further broken down. For many of the dress patterns, implements, and behaviors, alternatives are indicated. It must be kept in mind that evidence does not warrant the assumption that all such alternatives existed simultaneously.

Information has been obtained primarily from the Upper Liard and Dease River Kaska (Fig. 2). When available, data from other Kaska groups follow these two in the following order: Tselona, Espatotena, and Frances Lake Kaska. References to adjacent tribes, like the Tahltan, Pelly River people, Bear Lake Sekani, and Tlingit will be found in footnotes.

ENVIRONMENT

To the person who has not been raised to love the prairie the Cassiar, as the northwestern area of British Columbia and southern Yukon Territory is often called,[2] must appeal as a colorful and exciting region. Lying between the Rocky Mountains on the east and the Coast Range to the west the country is bounded north and south by water sheds of considerable height. Geologically the Cassiar may be considered as a portion of the Yukon Plateau.[3] Between the eastern and western ranges the land is rolling and crossed from northwest to southeast by the Cassiar Mountains, which extend from Teslin Lake to the headwaters of the Finlay River (Fig. 2). Below McDame Creek, 80 miles south of Lower Post, the Dease River cuts a gorge through the Cassiar Mountains

[1] The history of the Cassiar and its people will not be presented in this monograph, since it has already been written in some detail. See Honigmann, *Culture and Ethos of Kaska Society* (1949), 38–50; Schlesier, *Stikine River in 1898* (1899).

[2] For an impressionistic picture of the area see Turton, *Cassiar* (1934). The term Yukon is apparently derived from the Athapaskan word for Northern Lights, yukʉ́ŋa. (Cf. Osgood, *Ingalik Material Culture* (1940), 439.) Le Jeune, however, derives the territory's name from a supposed "Yuk!" (Wicked Ones) Indian tribe. Le Jeune, *Dictionnaire Général du Canada* (1931), II, 826.

[3] Lees, *Geology of Teslin-Quiet Lake Area, Yukon* (1936), 5. See also Hanson and McNaughton, *Eagle-McDame Area, Cassiar District, British Columbia* (1936), 2–3; Kerr, *Dease Lake Area, Cassiar District, B. C.* (1936). For maps the reader is referred to Honigmann, *Culture and Ethos of Kaska Society* (1949), 33, 34.

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"Nice fellow to anybody [i.e., everybody]" (tenametii?a?etiia). This person was suffused with warmth toward all his neighbors. He was universally liked. "People in the old days used to think about each other rather than talk to each other." 828

"Tell them about anything man" (?utetciitena). A talkative person or gossip is indicated.

"Crazy man" (tena?atutatii). Such an individual played many jokes on his neighbors and teased other people. "He told young girls he's going to marry them." Few people belonged in this category and rarely did old people demonstrate such behavior. Our chief informant, Old Man, tended to manifest this kind of humor.

"Mind about woman" (e?uteniitciitsuna). Refers to a man so preoccupied with the thought of women and sex that he could not apply himself to hunting and other work. In other words we have here the rake.

"He gets around all right this little man" (tatzile eytintena su?ate). A fellow who just got by in the course of making his living.

"Poor man" (etuyatiieyitiniitena). People were kind to an unfortunate person of this type. If, after a suitable period of aid, he failed to make his own living their assistance might be discontinued. In return for receiving aid a person should help his benefactor, for example by visiting deadfalls. We have here the germ of specialization and the kind of relationship found in the Plains where poor men served rich patrons.

"Lazy man" (katsatsetena). He lacked both knowledge and skill and wasted much potentially productive time.

"Lazy man starving" (tenakatsatsetena seklii). "You helped him, gave him nets, and what he needed. Pretty soon his wife came back and said that they're starving."

"Full of prunes man" (?utsiiyiitena). A person who boasted but without telling the truth. People disliked a liar and tended to ignore the windbag to whom this designation refers.

INFORMANTS

The informants to be identified did not themselves experience directly all of the aboriginal lifeways which they recounted. In some cases, of course, aboriginal patterns have survived to contemporary or near contemporary times. Of these the informants enjoyed first hand knowledge. Other data, however, were verbally transmitted to living persons by parents and grandparents. Where such information is involved time has often fogged memories and distorted facts. If any value is seen in ethnographic reconstruction, such facts nevertheless must be accepted with a measure of caution and preserved. No great gift of prophecy is required to point out that the pace of culture change in the North is bringing about a rapid displacement of aboriginal tradition so that in the near future generations will grow up without understanding the culture of their forefathers. 115 121

Because a number of the informants employed to complete this reconstruction also served as subjects of a somewhat intimate, psychologically oriented, contemporary community study[48] the actual identity of these field assistants must be concealed. The 115

[48] Honigmann, *Culture and Ethos of Kaska Society* (1949).

7: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1947
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WITCH-FEAR IN POST-CONTACT KASKA SOCIETY

By JOHN J. HONIGMANN

ABORIGINALLY the Kaska, like their Northern Athapaskan neighbors, were familiar with sorcery—behavior in which a person with sufficiently strong shamanistic power would steal, or was believed to steal, the wind or soul of a personal enemy and thereby induce illness. Although people who practiced such behavior were feared by the rest of the society's members, they were not usually put to death or otherwise punished. Sorcery, however, was regarded as evil and might therefore automatically lead to punishment in the form of insanity. There is no evidence that sorcery in aboriginal times ever was as prevalent as similar behavior in certain African and Melanesian groups. Following white contact, however, a socially dyscrasic form of behavior appeared among the Kaska which, to distinguish it from the sorcery complex associated with the aboriginal society, may be designated as witch-hunting or witch-fear. The present paper will first present the available evidence from historical sources and informants regarding this form of behavior. Following this an attempt will be made to analyze that material from an historical, psychological, and structural point of view and apply the findings in a universal frame of reference.[1]

GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION

The Kaska still occupy the territory which they have always inhabited in the memory of the oldest informants. This is the area extending northwest of the Stikine River, British Columbia, Canada, to the divide north of Frances Lake, Yukon Territory, and from the western Cordillera east across the Rocky Mountains (Fig. 1). The main rivers traversing this region are the Liard, Frances, and Dease. The name Kaska is a conventional term adopted from one group of people to classify a number of contiguous tribes speaking closely related dialects. Within the area designated as Kaska several such tribes have been variously distinguished in the literature, but for present purposes the names by which they are locally known today will suffice. In the extreme north are the Frances Lake Indians. Occupying the basin of the Liard, from about the present Highway crossing twenty-three miles above Lower Post to within a hundred miles of that river's source, are the Upper Liard Indians. The

[1] Field work with the Kaska Indians took place from June to September 1944 and from June to December 1945. The work was sponsored by the Department of Anthropology and the Peabody Museum of Natural History of Yale University. To Professors Cornelius Osgood and Irving Rouse are due thanks for critically reading this manuscript. The present account will offer a minimum of general ethnographic detail. A description of the aboriginal culture based on reconstruction is planned for future publication and a psychologically oriented study of the contemporary culture is already partially in manuscript.